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231 not hold, since sheep-herding is done by grown men, especially old men whose age of usefulness in other pursuits has passed.

Dogs. Three breeds of dog are found in the Rif. The most common is the ordinary small yellow cur, with lop ears like a jackal and a bristly mane, which serves as a sentry during the night, is seldom fed, and keeps up a terrific racket, yipping at all hours. These dogs, which frequently breed with jackals and can with difficulty be distinguished from them, are half wild, back away snarling and yelping when approached, and are usually ignorant of human affection. When kept, however, by people kindly disposed to them, as is sometimes though rarely the case, they develop into quite tractable and intelligent pets and companions.

The second variety is a large shepherd dog, resembling a Scotch shepherd, with broad head and shaggy coat. Such dogs are treated with greater respect and are fed regularly. They go out with the boys tending the sheep, and show great intelligence in assisting them. The boys tending the sheep throw stones at them with plaited *halfa* slings, while the dogs snap at the heels of the more distant members of the flock; and between the efforts of the slingers and those of their dogs, the sheep seldom stray. Despite the care of the boys, both sheep and goats sometimes fall prey to the larger variety of *oshun*.[1]

The third type of dog, the aristocrat of canine society in Morocco, is the *sloughi*, the well-known North African greyhound, a smooth-haired variety, covering every possible range of color. The *sloughi*, kept exclusively for hunting, is confined in the Rif to the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. It is likewise kept by the Beni Znassen, a purely Zenatan tribe outside the Rif; it is considered by the Riffians a Zenatan introduction.

Cats are rare and serve as house pets, as elsewhere.

Ferrets are kept in cages in the houses and are used in hunting.[2]

Cattle occupy the first place among Riffian domestic animals. They belong to a short, shaggy-haired, stocky breed, generally red in color and long-horned. Although small, they are very hardy and well adapted to mountain life. They are kept by every family. No house which contains a woman lacks a cow, from the highest mountains to the desert of the Garet. While the weather is favorable, they are pastured in fields or on the less rugged mountain slopes and tended by women or girls; during the winter, and while the storms of October and November are raging, they are kept in the house. To conduct them to pasture is often a difficult feat, on account of the narrowness and steepness of the paths; often four or more women, pulling on ropes, horns, and tail, are required to guide a cow over a dangerous place. Despite this care, many fall and break their legs or necks.

Cows are kept in the house during the night, in the same room in which the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The cow is given the lower fourth of the chamber, which is sunk below the level of the habitation floor. She is fed on straw, grass, and the stalks of maize. During the late winter, before the green shoots have appeared on the mountain sides, women often spend all their time in a search for weeds and grass to feed the family cow.

Bulls are owned in every village and are put to stud for hire. The mating of cattle is, curiously enough, the task of women. The owner of the bull and the owner of the cow each sends his wife to conduct his animal to a secluded place previously agreed upon, and the husbands take care not to approach the spot. For any man to witness the mating of cattle would be a shameful experience, although women may look upon it with impunity. [831]

[1] See Introduction, p. 12.

[2] See below, p. 87.

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245 242 *lishin*, the orange tree. Riffian oranges are of the common North African variety. Tangerines are not grown in the Rif. It is said that the fruit of the male orange tree is elongated, while that of the female tree is round. Orange shoots are grafted to wild lemon trees without distinction of sex.

limon, the cultivated lemon tree, as distinguished from the wild variety.

tifah, the apple tree. Riffian apples are small and stunted, and not very palatable. They are not commonly grown except in the highest mountain tribes. The apple shoots are frequently grafted onto hawthornes. A sex distinction is made between the apples: the male ones are said to be large and white, and the females red.

firas, the pear tree. It is said that the male pear is white, while the female is reddish. Grafting onto hawthorne is common.

thaghieshth, the walnut tree. Walnuts are called *nue n thaghieshth*. The Riffians distinguish male from female walnut trees as follows: The male tree bears a hard-shelled nut with little meat; the female's nut is thinner shelled and meatier. Usually the males are cut down to make room for others. No grafting is attempted with walnuts.

juz, the almond tree. The nuts from this tree are called *nue*, the same word which is applied to walnuts. It is said that the male almond bears a nut with a single meat, while the meat of the female is double. Almonds, like walnuts, are not grafted.

er mishmesh, a species of plum tree. The sex of plums is distinguished by breaking the stone and tasting the meat inside. If it is bitter the tree bearing it is supposed to be male. Plums, like apples and pears, are grafted to the hawthorne.

er barkok, the apricot tree. Males are said to have thick skins, and females thin ones. Males are preferred for export, and females for drying.

er khok, the peach tree. The Riffians do not distinguish sex in the peaches, and do not attempt to graft them.

[262] The Riffian prizes his fruit and nut trees highly, perhaps even more than his grain and vegetables, since on the dried fruit of these trees and upon raisins his family is often forced to subsist for months at a time during the winter. He digs around and manures the roots of the trees every spring, and leads irrigation ditches to their trunks. He keeps them carefully pruned and trimmed, and diligently removes insect parasites from leaves and branches.

262 831 [585] Not only does the Riffian take great pains to distinguish between the sexes of the trees, but he also imposes a sex tabu upon the eating of the fruit of two of them, walnuts and almonds. Walnuts may be eaten only by women, and almonds only by men. The reason for this is symbolically sexual, since walnuts, on account of their wrinkled appearance, are supposed to produce a drying and shrinking, whereas almonds are supposed to produce fluidity and potency in men. Both walnuts and almonds consequently play a prominent part in the wedding diet.

Vineyards. Grapes are as important to the Riffians as fruits and nuts. Those grown in the Rif are a large reddish-purple variety, resembling Malaga grapes in form and in taste. They are grown on vines set out on high mountain slopes too steep and too barren for the cultivation of anything else. The vines are kept trimmed, and in spring the soil about their roots is loosened. It is seldom possible to irrigate them, although fertilizer is brought laboriously uphill when possible.

Among the Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, and Beni Khennus, and in Taghzuth, another variety of grapes is grown, smaller and bluish-purple in color. These grapes are hardier

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is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Turin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 196–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–158.